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CONSIDERATIONS

Touching the Late

TREATY

FOR A PEACE

held at UXBRIDGE.

With ſome Reflections upon the Principall Occaſions and Cauſes of the

FRUSTRATION

THEREOF.

Extracted out of the late Printed full Relation of the Paſſages concerning it.

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CONSIDERATIONS TOUCHING THE FRVSTRATION Of the Late TREATY.

CONON describing the practiſes and plots uſed by *Gelon*, how to make himſelfe ſole Tyrant over *Sicily*, ſets this downe for a ruled obſervation upon the caſe; φίλων ἅπασαν τὴν δύναμιν τῷ λαβόντι ὑπὸ τὸν δόντα εἶ), that, as there is a kind of *Pleaſure*, in the practice and exerciſe of any *power* which is *given*; ſo, that pleaſure, is improved to a kind of *Luſt* or *Venery*, no way ſo much, as, when that *power* is exerciſed and adminiſtred, either againſt the Fortune, or againſt the Perſon, of that man, which *gives* it: The beames of *Soveraignety*, by like, being as the beames of the *Sunne*, not ſo hot, in direct and ſtrait *lines*, as in *reflections*. And therefore, as *Pliny* ſpeakes of *Callimachus* (an excellent Painter, but one that was ſo curious, that the grace of his work was much abated by the diligence; for, he could never tell, when he had done well) that, hee was *maximus ſui calumniator*, his own worſt *detractor*: So does *Ariſtides* obſerve of an excellent Prince, adminiſtring that Empire with Remiſſeneſſe and Favour,

which is best sway'd by Justice, and by Power; that he is τῶν ἐγκλημάτων αἴτιος αὐτῷ γεγονώς, his own greatest *Rebell*; For, letting down the string of *Monarchy* never so little, and sinking his owne naturall *Right* and *Interest* in all *High Actions*, to an *inferiour communication* and adoption of *other Counsells*, It often hapneth to him, as it does, to many other kind Masters in the world, that, whatsoever he shall, heretofore, have granted, shall be no longer thought on, as a piece of *Grace* and *Mercy*; but, whatsoever He shall, henceforth deny, shall be now lookt on, as an Act of great *injustice* and *tyranny*. The sad testimony, which the *Miseries* of our present *War* afford unto this truth, will save the labour of examining other witnesses; and the sadder testimony, which the *Mistakes* of our late *pretended peace* afford, will save the examination of them. Never did *condescention* (I had almost said, *submission*) in any *Prince*, meet with so much, *scorne* and *contempt* from any *people*; whilst all His former Acts of *Grace* and *Favour*, that should have instructed their *obedience*, doe but arme their *pride*: By *receiving*, they only learne to *Aske*; and, having gotten a *power* into their hands, they are now so far enamoured of *Majesty*, that, if they cannot get her *Scepter*, (as they hope, they shall) they are resolv'd, not to let goe her *Sword*; not unlike, to some young passionate lovers of Beauty, who, when they cannot obtaine the eldest daughter to Wife, whom they most desire, will match her Sister. They think it not enough to couzen us of our monies; now, they couzen us of our very Sences; and whilest they call upon the world, to behold and see a *treaty*, they cheat them, with a very *trick*. They have dealt with this whole Kingdom, now, as they dealt with the Lord *Mack Quire*, not long since; they have, in a manner, *executed* a Common wealth, these three or foure years, by Rapines, by Rebellions, and by all the sad appertenances of Warre; and now, they *cut it downe*, as it were in a pretended treaty, for a well setled Peace; but, to what end? not, as purposing or intending any such blessing, as Peace, unto the Kingdom, that should animate it, as it were, with a new life, and make it happy; but, only, to recover a little, so much of her exanima-

exanimated Spirits as shall make her sensible and more apprehensive of fresh and new Miseries. For, that in the late *Treaty*, they never did intend a *peace*, I think, will be easily made appeare to any common judgement & understanding, that shall observe and weigh no more, then these foure particulars. First their *Indisposition* and *Aversion* from *Treating*: Secondly their *impotent* and *imperfect Qualification* of their Commissioners to *Treat*: Thirdly, their *Insolent Expostulations* and *Demands* in the *Treaty*: and Lastly, their *Inexorable Obduration* and *Deafnesse*, against all *Enlargement*, *prorogation*, or *Reviving* of the *Treaty*.

I. Concerning the first of these, their naturall *indisposition* and *aversion* from *Treating*. It is worth observing, That from the 4th of *July* last, when His Majesty recommended this *treaty* first unto them, unto the 23 of *November* last, when their *propositions* were brought down to *Oxford*, upon which the *treaty* was founded, there passed almost five whole moneths between. A Small time, for the grave *Advices* of a Parliament to work in, in such a poynt full of perplexities, as this, *Whether it be better for the Kingdom, to have peace, or War?* If the question had been onely put, whether *presbytery* were not better then *Episcopacy*, whereon dependeth but the Ruine of the *Church*? or whether *Democracy*, were not better then *Monarchy*, whereon dependeth, but the Ruine of the *State*? or lastly, whether the *Militia* of the Kingdom, were not safer in their hands, then in the Kings; whereon dependeth, but the Ruine of them *both*? For the ventilation and agitation of such easie points, as these, a matter of *three dayes* a piece, is time enough; (for no more would be allowed us at Uxbridge) as if the *Church*, amongst the other new markes of *primitive institution*, were in this also, to be reckoned the more like, to *Christ*, for *dying* and *rising* againe; for laying down her old *ceremonious* and *carnall* Body, and taking up a new *glorious* and *Spirituall* Body, and all in *Three Dayes*? But when a poynt of so great concernment, as this, comes in debate, *whether it be better to have peace or War*? A poynt, which, if it miscarry never so little in the stating, may chance endanger that Lords

penſion, and this Lords *place*, may chance endanger the *Tryall* of ſome of the Members, and the *Trade* of more; may chance returne them, to their Originall *three penny Seates*, that have ſat all this while in great State, upon the *Stage* ? It will aske time, to traverſe and diſcuſſe it; and foure or five moneths allowance, is truely, with the ſhorteſt. All this while, indeed, had they a very hard game to play. They held the *Wolfe* by the *Eare*, as they ſay; They durſt not *hold* a *Treaty*, when the King offered it, for then, They knew they ſhould looſe *themſelves*; and They durſt not *let it go*, when it was offered; for, then they knew they ſhould looſe the *people*. Was it not high time, for to beſtir them now, and like true *State-Jugglers*, expreſſe a little skill ? Firſt therefore, to make the People a little ſport in the ſtreet, the better to perſwade them faſter in; They doe give it out, that if the *King* would acknowledge them His *Parliament*, and the *Great Councell of the Kingdome*, then They would *Treat*; as if this were a World for men, τὰ ὀνόματα ἀντὶ τῆς ἀληθείας θαυμάζειν, to admire *Names* for *Things*: as if *Theodora* in *Procopius*, having beene a common Whore, and now comming to the Court to be *Juſtinians* Wife, were ever a whit the honeſter Woman, for *Euphemia's* name; as if they knew not, how to imitate their dear *Brethren* of *Scotland*, as *Æſops Aſſe* did the *Dogg*, who, ſeeing the *Dog* leap upon his Maſter, and his Maſter ſtroke him, and call him by his Name, thought that he might doe ſo too, and be as welcome. When this did not take, as was expected, (for I dare ſay, They ſtood upon this Denomination, They deſired the grant of this *liberty*, but as St. *Auguſtin* in his youth is reported to have deſired the gift of *Chaſtity*, which he had rather God would have denied him) when there was no Remedy, but that *Treat* they muſt; By meere ſlight of hand, they draw ſome *propoſitions*, which they will have called, *Propoſitions for a ſafe and a well grounded peace*, like ſo many Ribbands out of their mouth, the various *Colours* whereof do ſo pleaſe the Peoples Eyes, that they cannot ſee the *Cordes*; Propoſitions, which the very Anabaptiſts have already *Chriſtoned* in their *Child-hood*, and call'd them *Propoſitions of Peace*;

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which I am confident they dare not hope to ſee, at their full yeeres of Action and Accompliſhment, even by a ſucceſſefull *Warre*. And thus, having made the *Quarrell* become the *Deciſion*; having by cleanly conveyance, jugled the true ground of the *Warre* on the Kings part, into the Foundation of the *Peace* on their part: They hope they have ſatisfied the World now that they are for *Peace*, but that the King is not; And they doubt not, I warrant you, to raiſe good Sums out of the People, for the continuance of *Warre*, upon the credit of theſe pretended Intentions, which they had of *Peace*: as your ordinary *Juglers* of *Small-wares* uſe to doe; who will put a padlock into the poore Countrey-fellowes mouth, that ſhall thereby *ſuffer* ſome of his Tricks, and then make him pay his penny beſides for *ſeeing* them.

II. In the ſecond place, obſerve their *Impotent* and *Imperfect Qualification* of their Commiſſioners to *treate*: For firſt, whereas the King inveſted his Commiſſioners, or any ten of them with a *full* and *whole* Power, not onely to *meet* and *treat* but alſo, to *compoſe* and *conclude* a Peace, obliging Himſelfe under his own Royall Hand to ratifie whatſoever they ſhould doe: The men of *Weſtminſter* endow their Commiſſioners but with *halfe* a *Power*; A *Power* to *treat*; but reſerve to themſelves the better *halfe*, a *Power* to *conclude*; tying up their Commiſſioners onely to ſuch *Inſtructions*, as either were already *given* them, or elſe from time to time *ſhould be*. Now let all the World judge, whether theſe men had any *love* to *Peace*, (nay, whether they rather did not *Fear* it) who durſt not truſt their owne Members, creatures of their owne election and free choice, with the managery and regulating of it. The *Kings Majeſty* truſted his Commiſſioners with a *power*, which if they had abus'd, they had indeed *abus'd the King*, by giving and betraying up his *Rights*; but they had not *abus'd themſelves*; nay, they might have done it, no doubt, to their owne *great advantage*: But, if *they* had truſted their Commiſſioners with ſuch a *power*, thoſe Commiſſioners could not have *abus'd the Parliament*, by giving up and betraying of their *Rights*, but withall they muſt *abuſe themſelves*, and doe it to their

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owne *ſpeciall advantage*: And yet, ſo *zealous* is the King for *Peace*, that it might be ſetled, that thoſe men, who might abuſe his power to his prejudice, *are* truſted; and ſo *jealous* are the Rebels of *Peace*, leaſt it ſhould be ſetled, that thoſe men who could not abuſe the Parliament-power, but to their own prejudice, *are not*. Now what could the World expect, in order to a *Peace* from ſuch *Eunuch*-Commiſſioners? from ſuch perſons, who were rather Parliament *Conduits*, to convey ſuch Anſwers and the Reflection of ſuch *thoughts*, as were hourely put into them; then, Parliament-*Commiſſioners*, to ſpeake upon occaſion, and to utter what they themſelves *thought*? What could the World looke for from men, who were not ſo much as their *Humble Oratours*, to uſe (if not any *Reaſon*, as being *againſt the uſage of Parliament*, yet) a little *Rhetorique* to colour, and ſet off the buſineſſe; but were onely their *dumbe Oracles*, which opened not their mouth, or ever ſpake word, but, as the *Devill* of *Weſtminſter* (who, was brought every day from *London* to *Uxbridge* in a Cloak-bag, as the *Holy Ghoſt*, they ſay, was once brought from *Rome* to *Trent*) did uſually poſſeſſe them, and inſpire them. I believe they durſt confide in their *Committee*; but, they durſt not confide in their *Commiſſioners*. The *Grand Committee*, they knew, was as the *firſt-running* of this Rebellion; all the *Strength* and *ſpirit* of Sedition was in it; which would keep life in their deſignes and purpoſes, though at the very laſt gaſpe; But theſe *Commiſſioners* are but like the *ſecond tapp*, which runnes *ſmaller* and *ſmaller*; there might poſſibly, they thought, be ſome relliſh and tincture of *Allegiance* in ſome of them; and therefore, they durſt not adventure any rich Commodities, in a *bottome*, that had, or might have more *pieces* then they could imagine. In the meane time, God helpe the poore common people of this Land, that have *truſted* theſe men with their Fortunes, Freedomes and Lives, in managing of a *War*, for the ſpace of *three yeares*, and over; who, now dare not *truſt* one another, with either, in ſetling of a *Peace*, for the ſpace of *three whole Daies* together.

III. Thirdly, conſider their *Inſolent Expoſtulations and Demands*

mands in the *Treaty*. Whereas *Warre* is ever full of *Tumors*, *Risings* and *Swellings*; all *Treaties* have in them, ſtill a kind of *lanknesse*, *leanneſſe*, or as it were, a *falling away* of Deſires; (for, if there be not a mutuall *condeſcenſion* on both ſides; if one part onely *take*, and the other onely *give*: The Commonwealth may have a *Clove* put in her *mouth*, but ſhe hath not cur'd her *lungs*, and as one *diſadvantage* does *beget* a Treaty, ſo another *advantage* will *break* it) And then, to what *one* abatement, in what one part, of what *one* Propoſition, did their Commiſſioners ever *condeſcend*? In what *one* thing, did they goe leſſe at *Uxbridge*, then before they did at *Oxford*: unleſſe perchance you will account it a greater inſolence, to *deſie* the King at *fifty miles* diſtance from their owne dung-hill, then to doe it at *fifteene*? Men, that will pretend to *treat*, and yet will proceed in no *complying*, but all in a *commanding* and *Imperious* way, as theſe men did, can no more properly be ſaid to *treat*, then the Slave and his Maſter in *Terence*, could be ſaid to *fight*; when the one with *beating*, and the other with *being beat*, at laſt, they were *both* ſore and weary. *Induciæ ſunt Belli Feriæ*, ſaith *Varro*: **Truces** and **Treaties**, are War's *Holyd-daies*: and as *Religion* uſeth to have her free practice and exerciſe in the *one*, ſo ſhould *Reaſon* in the other; and for men to urge onely *Demands* in a **Treaty**, which lies open on purpoſe, for admitting of *Debates*, is all one, as for a man to think to make a *Syllogiſme*, of nothing but *Concluſions*, becauſe he would have no Propoſition *denyed*. Beſides, if nothing leſſe then the granting of all theſe demands can obtaine a *Peace*, (as it ſhould ſeem it cannot) I would faine know, *what* theſe men propoſe unto themſelves if they ſhould obtaine by *Warre*? What can they have more to *Aske*, or the King to *Give*, unleſſe it were His *Life*? (and if any thing ſecure that, it muſt be their *Scorne*, as preferring that of any *Conſtables* before it.) Suppoſe (I doubt not, but the *King* of *Kings* will ever keepe them at the diſtance of a Suppoſition, and therefore I ſuppoſe) that all Succeſſe, which ever yet crown'd impious Attempt, ſhould wait on this Rebellion, and make them *Luckie* Villaines: (for I find, that even the Rebell *Jewes*, a Nation condemn'd to Slavery ſince

the ſacking of *Hieruſalem*, were proſperous and fortunate *once*, for *ſeven yeeres* together, in an Inſurrection under the *Perſian*, which is more then ever they could boaſt of either before or ſince) Yet I dare ſay, that in theſe Propoſitions They have endeavoured to lay ſome particular Obligations upon the King, in the way to *Peace* (as for example, that Imperious Obſtruction of the two Princes *Right* in their *Electorall Dignity*, which is the proviſion of the 21th Propoſition) which they themſelves wil never be able to make good unto their malice, if they ſhould ſucceed and proſper in this unnaturall *Warre*: And are theſe fit *Ingredients* for a *Peace*? If they can gain that, in order to a *Peace* (that is, a *Curbe* and *Bridle* on the *Imperiall Law*) which they cannot looſe by *Warre*, (becauſe they never had it) I ſhould commend the playing of their Cardes, and think they doe juſt, as ſome cunning Merchants of their own Miſeries uſe to do; that will ordinarily get more by the *Breif*, then they could looſe by the *Fire*.

But you wil ſay, they demanded of the King, in order to our Peace, in a manner but two things; An abolition of *Epiſcopall Government*, for the ſetling of the *Church*; and a diſpoſall of the *Militia* to Commiſſioners of their owne Nomination, for the ſecuring of the *State*. And to ſay truth, They did not: but then, if you marke it, theſe *two* particulars doe ſtand out, and ſhew themſelves as the moſt *prominent pieces* of all their Propoſitions, as thoſe *two* Teeth did in the Worme, which *Cteſias* writes of in his *Indian* Stories: which indeed, were all the Teeth that Worme had: and yet with thoſe *two* Teeth, was that Worme able to pull downe any *Camel* or *Oxe*, that happened to come neere him. The bare conceſſion of theſe, involves a totall *Alteration* in the Government, both of the *Spirituall* and *Civill* State; and all other things contained in their Propoſitions, *non ſunt plura, ſed minora*, as *Quintilian* ſpeakes, They are not more *parts* of Inſolence, but leſſer *pieces*.

Concerning the aboliſhing of *Epiſcopacy*, there paſſed Arguments with the Divines: one ſide preſſing *for it*, and the other *againſt it*. Thoſe Argumens on our part, that concluded *againſt* the aboliſhing thereof, were drawn, as I have learnt,

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from theſe three ſeverall Heads: Firſt, from the poynt of *perjury*, the King having taken a Solemne *Oath* to maintaine the *Rights* and *Liberties* of Holy Church: Secondly, from the poynt of *Sacriledge*; The alienation of Things offer'd *unto God*, being accompanied ſtill with viſible, and more then ordinary Judgements, *from God*, either upon the *Perſons* or *Fortunes*, or *Families*, of thoſe men that are the chiefe Inſtruments and Actors therein: and Thirdly, from the poynt of *Divine right*; Epiſcopacy having been accounted and accepted, as an *Ordinance* and *Inſtitution* of Chriſt himſelf, by the moſt Learned men that have lived in all Ages of the Church.

Againſt thoſe Arguments deduced from the two firſt heads, there was ſcarſe any thing offered in the ſhape of a *Reply*, which indeed was not *Ridiculous*, even in the Judgement of their own Commiſſioners: for it appear'd, in thoſe Two queſtions of *Sacriledge* and *Perjury*, Their underſtanding of the *State* thereof, was like their conſcience of the *Sinne*, little or juſt none at all. Indeed *little* could be ſaid, by *greater* Clerkes then they: for as the Oratour obſerves of ſome creatures, that are prety nimble at ſhifting for themſelves ſo long as they are in *Cranies* and in *Holes*, who notwithſtanding are ſoone overtaken and caught when they are brought out into an *open Field*, where every man may ſee them; So there are ſome pieces of Truth, which will admit of *diſquiſition*, whether they be ſo, or no, ſo long, as they do but peepe now and then, out of the *Pit*; which, when they are once laid open to the underſtanding, will beare no Argument; becauſe they carry their own *light* with them, that does betray them. But as touching the third head, thoſe Arguments that were inſtituted in defence of the *Divine Right* thereof, out of the Scriptures, to thoſe, They made a ſhift to ſay *ſomething*; and although that *ſomething* were no more like an *Anſwer*, then an *Ape* is like a *Man*: yet their own Commiſſioners, who ſaw them beaten from their two other *Works*, and yet were reſolved never to give up the *Fort*; abet thoſe Anſwers, and ſeeme to wonder, that we were not ſatisfied therewith. Alas! I cannot blame young *Gamſters* at diſputing, if they *catch* up their *laſt Stake*.

It was all they had to live on. The two former Heads, that of *Sacriledge*, and the other of *perjury*, they frighted them so, that they durst not look them in the Faces : They were indeed so *open*, and so *demonstrable* : But this Third Head of *Divine Right* ; because they thought it a *Head in a Bagge* : because, They knew it was more *problematicall*, and would admit colours on *either* side, therefore they stick close to that, and think they can avoid all Arguments from Scripture, that may be brought to *prove* it ; nay, They think they can raise as good Arguments out of the Scripture, that shal conclude *against* it. And truely, I would not have any man think it strange, for men of contrary perswasions to have contrary conceptions upon some *Texts* of *Scripture*, which *Scripture* they did neither *make* nor *write*, and, which *Scripture*, is brought to prove and evidence a Truth, perchance, which, either it did not intend *at all*, or but upon occasion, and *by* the *by*; (as it may well happen in the case of *Episcopacy*, and in most other poynts of *Christian practice*.) Why should any man, I say, wonder at this, that shal observe the very same Men, according to their *different*, and *divided interests*, to have as *divided* and *different understandings*, upon some *Texts* of *Law*, which *Law*, notwithstanding, they themselves *fram'd* and *made*, and which *Law* was brought to prove and evidence a truth, which was one of the very *Reasons*, why that *Law* was made : (as it happened afterwards in the case of the Kings *power* in making a *Cessation* with *Ireland*, whether it *were* limited, or whether it were *not* limited by the *Statute made this Parliament* ; and as it will happen in most other poynts of *Civill Right*.) Not that I can think these arguments brought on either side, to be of *equall* worth & strength (for as as it appears by *all* their Commissioners *Answers* which I have read, so does it appeare by *some* of their Commissioners *Arguments*, which I have heard, that they had *no power to conclude*) but that I think *Ignorant Men*, in pursuing of any *Truth*, to be like *ignorant Hunters* in pursuance of their *Game*; who whatsoever they can light on, by the by, lay hold on strait ; and if they come to sell it, will be sure to aske much more then it is worth, or then any other man who knowes

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what the Thing is will give, *Imbecillitate ſuâ pretium rei metientes*, as he ſaies; having no better meaſure of the things *worth*, then their own *weakeneſſe*; Or, that I thinke, with Saint *Hilary*, *quot voluntates, tot fides*; there are as many ſeverall *Faiths*, as there are, *Willes*; and, when men of ſeverall engagements, fall into heats and diſputes, in poynts, which are not mathematically *demonſtrable*; their ſeverall *affections* ordinarily will improve into ſeverall *opinions*, and they will judge of things, not according to *other* mens *proofes*, but their own *præpoſſeſſions*: And therefore, for my part, I have ever thought moſt of our *Divinity diſputation*, but a kind of *Church-Duell*; which does oftner declare, which is the *Stronger* ſide, then, which the *Truer*; and ſo much the more often, by how much, it may fall out eaſily, that the truth may be on *neither*. But if men will proceed to Diſputes and Arguments, (which, ſeldome, or, never, is, to any purpoſe; for, either, thoſe perſons, at whoſe requeſt, or for whoſe ſatisfaction that Diſputation is inſtituted, are able to judge of the ſolidity and ſtrength thereof, or they are not: If they are not able to judge of it, they receive no good by it; and, if they are able to judge, they do not need it) it is a requiſite *expedient* for hopefull proceedings in that kind, That, men proportion their proofes according to the nature and condition of thoſe *propoſitions*, which they are to *prove*: If the matter, be a *Matter* of *Belief*, the *Scripture* is the beſt *proof* thereof; becauſe the Scripture exactly containes all *Matters* of *Faith*; but if it be, a *Matter* of *practiſe*, the *Scripture* is not the beſt *proof* thereof; becauſe as it containes not exactly, all *Matters* of *Forme*, ſo, neither is there any reaſon, why it ſhould containe them; it being the principall, if not the ſole end of *Scripture*, to tranſmit thoſe *Lawes* of *Faith* unto the world, by which, it ſhould be *governed*: and not, to tranſcribe the *Formes*, *Inſtitutions*, and *Differences* in *degrees*, of thoſe Officers, who, then did, and ever were, to *governe* it. Nor does it a whit impeach the *Divine right* and inſtitution of *Epiſcopacy* in the *Church*, founded in the firſt Apoſtles, if there ſhould chance to be found, no *particular Text* in Scripture, which, in *expreſſe termes*, does ſettle

and eſtabliſh that *Foundation*: no more, then it does impeach the *Right* of *Monarchy*, in a *State*, founded in the *Roman* Empire, or in any other *Kingdom* of the World, a thouſand years agoe, becauſe in the *Code*, or *Digeſt* of thoſe Fundamentall *Lawes*, by which thoſe Kingdoms have been ſo long *govern'd*, there is no *particular Act* or *Law* made, in *direct words*, which does eſtabliſh and ordaine, that *Imperiall* and *Monarchicall* Forme of *Government*. And therefore, there is no more reaſon in the world, when a man ſees, or may ſee, that the whole Church of *Chriſt* in all ages, hath ever acknowledged, and obſerved a difference of Order between a *Biſhop* and a *Prieſt*, why, he ſhould infer, that at firſt, a *Biſhop* and a *Prieſt* were *all one*, no doubt, becauſe the word *Presbyter*, in Scripture, is ſometime given to *both*: Then there is, when he reads, or may read that the Church of the *Iewes* in all ages, never had but *One* High-prieſt; Why, he ſhould infer, that at laſt, there were *Two* High-prieſts in that *Church*, no doubt, becauſe *Annas* and *Caiphas*, are *both* called *High-prieſts*, together, in Scripture.

I ſpeake none of this, as if I thought the *Divine Right* of *Epiſcopacy* could not be prov'd by Scripture (for I reſt moſt aſſured, it is as cleerly *prov'd* from thence as the *Obſervation* of the *Lords Day*: which particular, I rather doe inſiſt upon, becauſe, in theſe Propoſitions for a well ſetled Peace, there is *One* Act deſired to be paſſed, for the *Aboliſhing* of the *One*, and *Another* Act deſired to be paſſed, for the *Obſervation* of the *other*; when all knowing men muſt confeſſe, their *Intereſt* and *Tenure* in the Scripture, to be *equall*, and the *ſame*.) But becauſe I think, that *Scripture* is not the right *Topick* out of which men ought to deduce and draw thoſe *proofes*; If it finde but any *footing* in the Scripture, the Churches univerſall *Practice* of ſuch a *proof*, is the beſt *proof* that can be made, of ſuch a *practice*; In regard, that *matters* of *Faith* and good life, as they are *Eſſentiall* to the Church, ſo, they are *Univocall*; and, the Scripture, as it delivers them, *once*, ſo it delivers them, *ever*: but, *Matters* of *Forme*, and Government, if they ſhould be confeſt *Eſſentiall* to the Church, in their *Inſtitutions*; yet, are they not alwaies *Univocall*, in their *operations*; but of neceſſity

neceſſity muſt *riſe* and *fall*, and, either *admit* of growth, or *ſeem* to doe ſo, according to the *conditions* and *changes* of time, that will *ſuite* beſt unto them. Beſides, the condition of the *Myſticall* Body, the body of the *Church*, as conſidered in her *Infancy*, to my thinking is not much unlike to the condition of the *Naturall body*, the body of Man, as conſidered in *His*; and the ſeverall operation of *orders* in the *one*, is not much unlike to the ſeveral operation of *ſoules* in the *other*; now we know that the *reaſonable ſoule*, albeit a ſoule of *another* order, then the *ſenſitive* (being derived from a nobler extraction, and origine) & infuſed from the beginning into the Body, no leſſe *then it*, yet, it exerciſes little or no *diſtinct* operations in that body *from it*; till ſuch time as that body come to yeeres of underſtanding, where *Reaſon* may have room & ſcope to work in, at her pleaſure: In like manner that *Order* of *Epiſcopacy* might be planted from the beginning in the Church, and be ſuperinduc'd upon this *Order* of *Prieſthood*, as a *diſtinct* and *nobler* Order from it; and yet, in the *nonage* of the Church, there may be little or no *diſtinction* found in the Scripture, of Adminiſtration of thoſe *Orders*, which then began moſt eminently to appeare, when that *Body* of the Church was a little more grown and come to *yeers*, and had *Inſtruments* fitted, and *Organs* well prepared for the *execution* therof. Furthermore it would be conſidered, that there is ſomething almoſt in every *practicall* Text of *Scripture*, like to that which the Painters call the *aire* in every *Face*; if *all* the *parts* of a Face, be taken in their right feature and proportions, and that *aire* be not taken (which aire is a kind of *center*, wherein all *conſents* of *ſimilitude* and *likeneſſe* meet) one man will confidently pronounce the Face is like, and another will as confidently pronounce as he, that it *is not*; and both believe themſelves to be very right in *judgement*; If the *ſenſe* of the words of any Text be taken and underſtood, according to the *part all* and *particular* acceptation of thoſe words in other places; and then the *generall* Aire, the *Scope* and *Harmony* of the *whole* Text, with that which went *before*, and that which *followes*; The relation and Intereſt which it hath to *perſons* and *places*, or that *caſt of the looke*, as it were, which it hath upon

ſome

some **Times**, *Usages*, and *Customes*; if all this be not taken, and understood, as wel: One man, may deduce *one* conclusion from that Text, and another man *another* crosse to that, and both think themselves to have inferred *justly*. No marvell then, if these men, should produce *some* **Texts** of Scripture, that colour for *Presbytery* to those mens Apprehensions, that are resolv'd before, *to set it up*: and no marvell, if they produce *other* **Texts**, that looke asquint upon *Episcopacy*, to those mens understanding, that are resolv'd before, *to pull it downe*; For, when the *Aire* of the Face, is mist, it is no longer, a *Picture*, but a *Phancy*; and, whom, every man is pleas'd to thinke it like, like to them, it is; and when the *Aire* of a Text is mist (as they, generally, either, never goe about to take it, or, ever misse it) That text is like the children of *Israels* **Manna**, which will taste to every man, according to the particular affection and inclination of his owne palate; or, like *Plauso's* Horse, which was ever ready made, whether you would have the *Head* or *Heeles* stand uppermost, all was one. And, therefore our **Commissioners** chalkt them out the readiest way to detect the *unlawfulnesse* of *Episcopall Government*, if there were any; when, *they desired to be informed by them, when, and where any Nationall Church since the Apostles time, was ever governed without it.* For, if they pretend *that* Government to be unlawfull, and yet, can shew *no other*; it is a shrewd argument, that they doe but *pretend* it; For, it can hardly be imagined, that **Christ** should ordaine but *one* onely *lawfull* forme of Government in his *Church*, that was to abide, *even unto the end of the world:* and, that that *Forme* should so soone decay and perish, as that there should not remaine the least footstep or impression of it in his *Church*, for the whole space of fifteen hundred yeeres together. But their Commissioners will not heare of this; They tell us, that what our Lord *did mention concerning a Nationall Church, is a new Question, which hath not as yet been any part of the subject of their debate.* Good Lord! how well acquainted are these men with *Congregationall*, and *Classicall*, and *Synodicall*, and *Nationall* Assemblies, which are for them: and, what a strange matter they make,

Full Narration p.56. nº. LXIX.

Their Reply 21. Feb. p.57. nº LXX.

make, of a *Nationall Church*, becauſe it is againſt them? This is but juſt, as I have knowne ſome beggars, who will make you believe they do not underſtand ſcarce a word of *good English* becauſe they find they can get more with *Canting*. Well: They are willing for all this, to believe *Epiſcopall* Government *unlawfull*: and I make no queſtion (at leaſt no *new Queſtion*, for I believe, it is alreadie ſtated) but that, They looke to be well *paid* for their opinion. But this I muſt tell them; I would not have them *found* that *unlawfulneſſe* on Scripture; or I would have them *find* it; For, as concerning all their arguments out of Scripture, which have hitherto bin brought againſt it, I will ſay no more but this; That they have concluded no more againſt *Epiſcopacie*, even to thoſe very perſons that have ſuch unequall thoughts, and ſo prejudicate affections to that ſacred *Order*; Then they may conclude, when they pleaſe, againſt the keeping of the *Lords Day*, againſt the *Baptizing of Infants*, againſt *Originall ſinne*, or in a word, againſt any one Article, either of Chriſtian *Practice* or *Belief* eſtabliſh'd in the Church; when the *disbelief* of any one of theſe Articles is like to prove as *advantagious* and *beneficiall* to them, as the *disbelieving* of this *Epiſcopacie* hath done.

Concerning the *Militia*, their demands were *Two*; Firſt, They demand the *ſole Nomination of all the Perſons to be entruſted therewith* wholly to themſelvs, not allowing the King, not only *the Power of nomination of one man* in Twentie, but not ſo much as *the Power of exception againſt one man* in Twentie: Secondly, they demand the *Continuance of this Power during pleaſure*, and *without any limitation* or *reſtitution* of Time. And truly, when I met with this, I began to think, that in ſhort time the Rebels would inveſt the King with ſuch a *Prerogative*, as *Agatharcides* reports of the *Subeans*, that they allowed their King: So long as he kept *cloſe*, and within his *Court*, it was lawfull for him to do *any thing*, what he would; but if once he ſtirr'd a foot, but out of his *Palace*, it was then lawfull for them to *ſtone* him. *His Majeſties moſt Loyall and moſt Humble Subjects*, will be content to ſpare him a little *Honour*; but they will be ſure to clip, and pare him to the

quick, of all His *Power*. So that upon the whole matter, the Case is this. *John* a *Nokes* and *John* a *Stiles* fell out, & fought; and having drawn some bloud one from another, at last, they were contented to put up their Swords, & be made Friends; Provided, that both their Swords might be put into such hands, as might prevent al further quarrelling between them. *John* a *Stiles*, he proposes that both their Swords may be put into *Two friends* hands; that the *ones* Friend may keep the *one*, and the *others* Friend the *other*. But *John* a *Nokes*, (though causelesly he drew first on *John* a *Stiles*, which meant him no harme yet now) afraid least *Iohn* a *Stiles* should do him mischiefe, will have both the Swords put into *his owne* hands, or He wil not be Friends. Now certainly, though upon severe examination of this offer'd Composition, there be no *reall* security founded upon that motion, even of *Iohn* a *Stiles* (for if the *Two* Swords should be put into *two* Friends hands as he desires; the *danger* might be *more*, because *They* might fall out also, as the *other* did before them: but the *security* is not, because *two Persons* are no more *secure* against *two*, then *one* against *one*) yet there is more *imaginable* security, that is, Men will be more apt to *conceive* & *imagine*, that *Iohn* a *Stiles* intended and meant honestly, as equally, and as indifferently to provide for both their securities, as possibly upon the suddain he could, in *this His way*; then They can *imagine* or *conceive*, that *Iohn a Nokes*, could intend or mean in *that* way of *His*. And yet this is the way the Parliament will take, or none; unlesse they may have the *whole* Power of the *Militia* put into the hands of such Persons amongst themselves, whom they shall nominate, They will not hear of *Peace*. Now if the Nomination of Commissioners for the *Militia* be devised, as the fittest instrument in order to *security* of Sides, as no doubt it is; reason will, that, as the *Feares* are equall and reciprocall on both sides, so should the *securities* be also; And then what reason is there in the world, that the King should not as well desire the *sole Nomination* of all the Commissioners of the *Militia*, in order to *His* better *Security* from *Them*; as that They should desire the *sole Nomination* of those Commissioners, in order to *their* better *securitie* from

Him?

Him? Oh! there is great Reason, they will tell us; and such a Reason that we little thought on; For *This Power of the Commissioners*, whom they desire to Nominate, without the King, *is not to be exercised by them untill a Peace be concluded upon the Treatie, and then His Majesty will be fully secured by the Lawes of the Kingdome, and by the duties and affections of His People.* If I understand ought, the result of that which is here said, is this: There are *two* wayes of *securing* both the King and the Kingdom, when the *Peace* is once setled, from those mutuall *Fears* and *Iealousies*, which the one hath of the other; and they are these: First, the *Sole and whole Nomination of such a number of Commissioners*, that shall have *power over all the Forces of this Kingdome both by Sea and Land*: that is one way; and Secondly, The *benefit* and *use of the Lawes of the Land*, together with the *Duties and Affections of the People* to guard ones Person; that is another way. Now the justest & most equall way, to divide this *double* Security between *both* Parties, against their *double* Feares, is this: For *Them* to take the *Sole Nomination of all Commissioners that shall have Power over all the Forces of the Kingdom, both by Sea and Land*; and so secure the Kingdom *this* way: and for *Him* to betake himselfe to the *Lawes of the Land*, and the *Duties and Affections of His People*; and so secure himselfe *that* way. But what if this way be neither just nor equal? I have a just suspition upon it, which I wish they would remove; For I demand: This Security, which the *Lawes* of the *Land*, and the *Duties* and *Affections* of the *People* can give, either it is *greater* then that other Security, which consists in the *sole Nomination of Commissioners*, or it is lesse, or it is *even*, and as *commensurate* in all parts and proportions, as any two things can be. That both these Securities are *equal* on all parts, I believe, they will not say; because I know, they never measur'd them; for albeit, they may reckon & number the strength of their *Horses*, and their *Arms*, yet they may not reckon and number the *Affections* and *Hearts* of the *People*: or if they have numbred them, and find them *equall* on all parts; I hope I may say it is not *Incivilitie*, & I know They must say, It is not *Injustice*, of

Full Narration, Pag. 92. Nu. CXXXVI.

tive *Equall Securities*, for the King to choose, & then the matter is ended. But if they say, it is either *greater* or *lesse*, then are the *King* & the *Kingdom*, still in the very same *Insecurities*, *Feares*, & *Jealousies* which they were before; and so these waies which they have found out for *mutuall securities*, do not reach their *Ends*; & by consequence are not in reason to be insisted on. For if the *Laws of the Land* & the *Duties* & *Affections of the People* be a *lesser* securitie to the King, then the *sole nomination of Commissioners* is to the Parliament; then is not *He* so secure from *Fears* & *Jealousies* from *Them*, as *They* are from *Him*; and if they be a *greater* security, then are not *they* so secure from *Feares* and *Jealousies* from *Him*, as *He* is from *Them*. So that, take these waies how you please, & they must needs prove either *impossible* or *useleſſe*; *useleſſe*, if one of the securities be *greater* or *lesse* then the other, for then they do not equally proportion the *Securities* unto the *Feares*: *Impossible*, if once they go about to number the *Hearts* & *Affections* of the People, and reckon upon them: which commonly the greater sort of People themselves do not truly know.

And as it is against *Reason*, this Demand of Theirs, so is it against *Law*; The Power of *Warre* & *Peace*, & the Managery of the *Civil* Sword, being so riveted & incorporated into the *Crown*, by the *Fundamentall Laws* of this Land, that without manifest *Alteration* in the very *Foundation* of this Government, it cannot be distinguished and divided from it. When They are told of this, They tell us again, that this Demand of Theirs, *contains no such Alteration*, as we speake of, but *Desires that, which by the Wisedome of the Parliaments of both Kingdoms is judged necessary at this time*, for *the security of His Majesties Kingdomes, and preservation of the Peace now to be setled*. But if these words admit of any, they must admit of one of these four senses; & let us see, whether any one of them make a *true Answer* to that which hath been said. For first, either they must meane, that to *have had* a Power, and now to *have it not*, is no *Alteration*; (and surely that is false; for if a motion from *being such*, to a *not being such* be a proper *Alteration*, as the Philosopher telleth us, it is; certainly, to *have* the

Full Narration, p. 62. nu. LXXV.

Sole

Sole Power of the Sword *in ones hands*, is a *being such*; and to *have no* Sword in *ones Power*, is a *not being such*; and so by consequence an *Alteration*.) Or Secondly, they must meane, that such an *Alteration* in the Government of the State, which *both the Parliaments* of the Kingdome *desire*, is not to be tearm'd an *Alteration*; (and truely that is true; so long, as *both the Parliaments* onely *desire it*: but when They *obtaine* that desire, then it is as perfect an *Alteration*, as if it were made by *Force* and *Violence*: as a man does as truely loose his money when he is *cheated*, as he does when he is *rob'd*: and then 'tis false again.) Or in the third place, Their meaning must be, that, that *Alteration* which is *for the better*, namely, the *preserving of the Peace*, and *securing of the Kingdomes*, *and is judged necessarie* to that end, *by the wisedome of both the Parliaments*, that, is not to be call'd an *Alteration*; (and if the other sense be *false*, this cannot be *true*: for it is all one, in respect of the *Truth* and *Nature* of an Alteration in the *Civill Body*, whether it be done in *Passion*, and for *the worse*, or in *Judgement*, and for *the better*: as it is all one, in regard of the *Truth* and *Nature* of an Alteration in the *Naturall Body*, when he that was well the last minute, and is ill the next, whether he be made so sick, either by his *Surfet* or his *Physicke*.) Or last of all, They must meane, that They doe not know what an *Alteration* is: (and that may be *True*; but supposing the *Wisedome of the Parliament*, it were better for their credit to be *False*:) And then, take these words of theirs, in any one of these foure senses, which you please, and they signifie just *nothing* in the way of a *true Answer* to that objection concerning *Alteration*, which our Commissioners urg'd them with before: For the words taken in either of the three first senses, doe indeed containe an *Answer*, but that Answer is not *Truth*: and taken in the last sence, They may indeed containe a *Truth*, but that Truth is no *Answer*.

This Demand notwithstanding so senceless and unreasonable in the very *substance* of the *thing*, receives a new accession of Insolence, from the *circumstance* of *time*: For (as if their Soveraignitie could have no *soule*, unlesse that soule were *Immortall*:) First, they desire this nomination of the Commissioners,

without any limitation or reſtriction of Time; and Secondly, they deſire it for *ſeaven yeares* at leaſt, and after *the expiration of that tearme to be ſetled and exerciſed in ſuch manner, as ſhall be agreed on by His Majeſtie, and the Two Houſes of Parliament in England, and by His Majeſtie, and the Eſtates of the Parliament in Scotland, and not otherwiſe.* So that for theſe *ſeaven yeares* it ſeemes they will proceed with the King, as *God* did with *Nebuchad-nezzar* for his *ſeaven times*; He ſhall *converſe with Beaſts*, (that is, He ſhall be no better then any one of the *Beaſts of the People*, as the Prophet ſpeaks,) His *Royaltie*, and His Imperiall *Rights* all this while being taken from Him; which after thoſe *ſeaven yeares*, like *Nebuchad-nezzars* underſtanding, ſhall revert & return ſafe again unto Him. And is not this a gracious condeſcenſion? Is not this a kind relaxation of the former Rigour? Are not theſe men willing to comply, and to do anything for Peace? I will not ſay, that either this *is* a condeſcenſion, and a complying on their parts, or that *nothing is*; but I will ſay, that either this *was* a condeſcenſion and complying on their parts, or that *nothing was*; for in all thoſe *Twentie dayes* of the *Treatie*, which ſhould have bin intended by both ſides, for reciprocall abatements of the rigour of their firſt Deſires, They never receded from any *one* part of any *one* of their Propoſitions, but only in the particular of this *Limitation*; and *eighteen* of the *twenty dayes* were full elapſed and expired, before ever they expreſſed *that*. But, what if theſe *Oraculous* words of theirs ſhould have a *double* ſenſe? What if that which we are willing to take, as a *little Grant*, ſhould prove a *greater Grievance?* I think if theſe words [*And after the expiration of the ſaid tearme, the* Militia *of the Kingdome to be ſetled, and exerciſed in ſuch manner, as ſhall be agreed on by His Majeſtie and the two Houſes of Parliament, &c.*] be well weigh'd and examined, although they may ſeeme to returne the King, after His *ſeaven yeares* Apprenticeſhip, unto his *Libertie* againe, and as it were make Him *Free*, yet they will ſignifie no more in order, to any ſuch true *Freedom*, then in that old expreſſion of [*For ever and a day*] that *Day*, there ſignifies in order unto any true *time*: For if the King ſhall not exerciſe His own Legall Power of the *Militia*, when thoſe *ſeaven*

Full Narration, p. 88. nu. CXXXI. 21. *Feb.*

yeares

yeares are expired, *Otherwiſe*, then by both *Houſes of Parliament ſhal be agreed on* (as their words expreſly ſay, he ſhall not) what is the difference between His condition, during theſe *ſeaven yeares*, and His condition when thoſe *ſeaven yeares* ſhal be expired; but only in this, that for *ſeaven yeares* He ſhall have no Power *with them*; and after thoſe *ſeaven yeares* He ſhal have no Power *without them*; ſo that either way He is bereaved of His *Right*, and for ought I can ſee yet, more this *laſt way*, which is propoſed in the way of *Conceſſion*, and *Favour*; then he is, the *firſt way*, which is impoſed by way of *Oppreſſion* and *Rigour*? For the King, having no Power *with them*, but being excluded for *ſeaven yeares*, from the nomination of Commiſſioners, hath thus much of liberty left him, that he is not oblig'd either to *God*, or *Man*, to anſwer for thoſe miſcarriages of State, that ſhall happen in the mean while by Perſons that may abuſe their Truſt; and although he *ſuffer* ſomething, yet all this while, he is ſure, that He ſhall *Doe* nothing, *againſt his owne will*; But the King having no power *without them*, that is, having his Power ordered, as it is like to be, when his *Seaven yeares* are out, by *both His Houſes of Parliament*, and [OTHERWISE] *not to be exerciſed*, may be reduced to this ſtraite and neceſſity, that if *both his Houſes of Parliament* ſhall agree upon ſome *Perſon* notoriouſly diſaffected to His Majeſties *Rights* or *Government*, who thereby, perchance, ſhall have merited ſome marke of his *Diſpleaſure*; The King notwithſtanding, ſhall be compelled and enforced, to *Doe* ſomething *againſt his owne will*; and to ſet upon ſuch a man a ſpeciall ſtampe of *Confidence* and *Favour*; Which indeed, rather is a piece of *infelicity*, then a part of any *Power*; as we call it *Power* in God, whereby he is able to doe *any* Thing; and yet, doe not call it *Power* but *Weakneſſe*, even in God himſelfe, if he ſhould be able to *ſinne*.

And having thus extracted all the *Pure Metall* of the Crowne, by their demands; having thus extenuated and annihilated all the Kings Power of *making Warre*; they begin to bethink themſelves, of diſpoſing the *Allay* too, for their beſt advantage; They will not leave Him ſo much as a Power neither,

neither, of *Making Peace*. For they demand, *That the Cessation of Ireland, and all Treaties with the Rebells, without consent of both Houses of Parliament be pronounced voyde*; And *that the Prosecution of the Warre in Ireland, be setled in both Houses of Parliament, to be managed by the joynt advice of both the Kingdomes*: Good God! That these ill men should not be content to rob their King of all his *Power* and *Royalty*; that they should not be content to render Him no *True King*; But their petulant insolence must attempt His very *Faith* and *Honesty*; But they must attempt to render Him no *True Man*? As if they had a purpose to constraine Him, to a needlesse *breach* of *Promise* now; that with more colour, and better credit, hereafter, they might *distrust* Him; as they report of the daughter of *Sejanus*, who was first purposely *ravisht*, that afterwards she might be put to *death*; because being a *Virgin*, by the Law she could not *suffer*. For this particular demand of *making the Cessation voide*, was made in the moneth of *February* last; and that very *Cessation voyded* of it selfe, expired in the Moneth of *March*; Now if the Kings Commissioners had agreed to the latter part of this Demand, *the setling of the prosecution of the Warre in both Houses of Parliament*, for the time to come; what could the voyding of this *Cessation* contribute to the current of their *designe* (but onely by way of scandalous *Reflexion* upon His Majesties *breach* of *Faith* and *Promise*) when that *Cessation* would voyd it selfe, would exhale and expire of it selfe, before ever those *Designes* of theirs could be ripe for any prosecution?

Full Narration, p. 95. nu. CXXXVI. 7. Feb.

I confesse, when I look well upon it, me thinks the true state of this question, concerning the *Irish Cessation*, is the same with the state of that question in *Plutarke*, concerning *Demonides* his *shooes*. *Demonides* was a lame impotent man, and therefore had his *shooes* made very *wide* and *easie* for his feet; Those *shooes*, when a cunning youth had stolne one day from him, and some of his neighbours comming in, and willing to extenuate and alleviate his Losse, that he might be the lesse affected with it, had told him, that they were but a *scurvy* paire of *clouterly* shooes, and very *naughtily* made; *Demonides* replyed,

replyed, that the *ſhooes* indeed, were no very *good ſhooes*; but they were *very good ſhooes* for *Demonides*, becauſe a better paire would not have fitted his ſore feet halfe ſo well. In like manner, it may be ſaid of this *Ceſſation*; That indeed, it was no *very good* Ceſſation; becauſe peradventure other *Ceſſations* heretofore, have been made, according to the more punctuall Rules of *Honour* and *Advantage:* But it was a *very good Ceſſation* for *Ireland*, becauſe the condition of her infirmity was ſuch, that ſhe could admit no *better*. For when the chiefe *Juſtices* and *Officers* of *State*, when the chiefe *Commanders* and *Officers* of the *Campe*, when both of them ſhall complaine unto the King, of the miſerable condition and poſture of *Ireland*, for very *want* of *Food*; and advertiſe Him, by their Letters, of her preſent inabilities to maintaine the proſecution of a *Warre*; what could the King doe more, in diſcharge of His duty both to God and Man, then to admit of a *Ceſſation*, in order to a preſent *Peace?* The *Houſes of Parliamant* it ſeems would not help them *at all*, (for after *Six months* expectation, they ſend them proviſion of victualls, for ſome *Seaven dayes*, as if they purpoſed a *ſcorne* to the Miſeries of their poore Brethren, rather then a *ſuccour*.) And the King could not help them *better*, then by giving his *Approbation* to a *Ceſſation*, which the Publique *Miniſters* of the State of *Ireland*, had ordered and aſſented to, there, as fitteſt for the preſent condition of that Kingdome; and ſo ſhew Himſelfe, at leaſt willing to *Reſpite* that Cauſe as well as He could, which He well knew himſelfe *unable* to *Revenge*.

Now *in Induciis Bellum manet, quamvis Pugnaceſſet*, ſay our Books; So long as the Parties ingaged in a Warre, proceed no further then *Ceſſations*, and *Truces* for a time; There is onely a *ſuſpenſion* of the *Fight*, there is no *ſuffocation* of the *Quarrell*; which may better be reſum'd againe, when they that manage it, ſhall have out-grown thoſe neceſſities and encombrances, which compell'd them firſt unto it: ſo that if this *Ceſſation* were Deſtructive to either of the Parties, it is moſt like to be ſo to the *Rebels*; who were not in that viſible Diſtreſſe, and want of all ſorts of Proviſion, as the *Proteſtant* party was; and if the condi-

tion of the *Proteſtants* were the *worſe* condition when the *Ceſſation began*, becauſe the actuall neceſſities of both ſides were *unequall*, and *We* wanted more then *They*; certainly the condition of the *Rebels* cannot be the *better* condition, when the Ceſſation ſhall *end*; becauſe the poſſible ſupplies of both ſides muſt be confeſſed *equall*, and *They* can be no more reliev'd, then *We*. Notwithſtanding all this, this *Ceſſation of Ireland* is exploded, and exclaim'd againſt by both Houſes of Parliament, as *deſtructive to His Majeſties good Subjects, and to the Proteſtant Religion, and onely for the advantage of the Popiſh Rebels*. Indeed I do read, that there may be *Deſtruction* in a *Ceſſation*; for the Prophet *David* calling all men to behold the workes of the Lord, and what *deſtruction he hath wrought upon the earth*; in the 46. *Pſalme*; makes his firſt inſtance in the point of a *Ceſſation*, in the next words that follow, *He maketh Wars to ceaſe, verſ.* 9. But the Prophet had a *myſticall* meaning in his words; and ſo no doubt have They; For ſurely they mean that a *Ceſſation* is *deſtructive* to the good Subjects of *Ireland*, juſt in the very ſame ſenſe, that the *want* of *Victuals* is a *Preſervative* for them; and, if that be not a *myſticall* ſenſe, I know not what is. But if theſe men would ſpeak plain, they would ſay, That this *Ceſſation* in *Ireland* is *Deſtructive to His Majeſties ill Subjects* here in *England*, who cannot have that convenient colour now, to raiſe *Forces* and levy *Monies*, for the ſuppreſſion of a Rebellion *there*; which *Monies* and *Forces*, they may convert, (as heretofore too often they have done) to the feeding and fomenting of their owne Rebellion *here*. And this is evidently the Reaſon, why they ſo deſire a *proſecution of the Warre in Ireland*, and demand the ſettlement of that *Proſecution* in their own hands; that having once a Power, of impropriating all the Succours of *Ireland*, to their own Rebellious ends and purpoſes, they may with better advantage, mannage the Warre here in England, againſt the King, when they ſhall have *Two* ſwords for His *One*; and may fight againſt Him, not only with His *Enemies*, but with His *Friends*.

Full Narration, p. 99 n°. CXLV.

For if *both Houſes of Parliament* intended onely the proſecution of Juſtice upon thoſe accurſed Rebells, and not ſome vi-

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cious ends of their owne, no leſſe accurſed then they, (for the grounds of all Rebellions are alike; and if there be *any* juſt ground for *one*, *no* ground is unjuſt, that is laid for any *other*) Certainly the King would be thought on, as a fitter inſtrument of execution, (whether He be conſidered as *King*, or as *one ſingle* Perſon, who can have but *one will*, and ſo cannot differ from himſelfe) then a *collected* body, made out of *many Perſons* of two Kingdomes, (thoſe of each Kingdom having a *negative voyce*) who thereby may have *Two* willes, and ſo differ amongſt themſelves; whereby the maine buſineſſe muſt needs receive obſtruction. Neither does that avoid this inconvenience, which theſe men ſay; namely, That *in caſe of any diſagreement in the Committee, the two Houſes of Parliament are to proſecute that Warre*; unleſſe they can imagine any man ſo ſimple, as not to think it as poſſible for the two *Houſes of Parliament* to diſagree, as for *one* Committee; Beſides, when the Parliament had a mind to ſettle the *Militia* of *England* for the preſervation of the Peace, in the hands of ſome Commiſſioners of their own naming, and would exclude the King, from ſo much as the nomination of any one amongſt them; They give this, as a reaſon of their deſire; *That if the Commiſſioners ſhould be ſeverally named, as the King would have had them; probably they would have acted according to their ſeverall intereſts, and the warre thereby would be more eaſily revived*; And is it not as probable now, if the proſecution of the Warre in *Ireland* ſhould be ſetled in a Committee of two ſeverall Kingdoms, *England* and *Scotland*, that the Perſons of that Committee, ſhould have *ſeverall intereſts*, and ends in the carrying on of that Warre, according to their ſeverall *Neceſſities* or *Ambitions*, and ſo what *one* aymes at, as a *Converſion*, the *other* may intend, as *Conqueſt*? by which meanes, the Warre either will be *retarded*, or, which is worſe, *exchanged*? I do not aſperſe either of the two Nations with the unworthineſſe of theſe Deſignes; But I muſt needs ſay this: when a great mans houſe is on fire, which he is able to quench, with the ſervants help of his own Family, and yet ſtrangers will be preſſing in whether he will or no; It is an even wager, if *Two* men come in together

Full Narration, p. 120. n°. CLXXIV.

Full Narration, p. 92. n° CXXXVI. 22. Feb.

to *Helpe*; but *One* of them comes to *Steale*.

If this *Committee of both Kingdomes* ſhould have but *one* and the *ſame end*, and that end, a good one: The quenching of the Fire of that Rebellion in *Ireland*, and the reducing of that unhappy Kingdome to His Majeſties Obedience: yet certainly, reaſon would not, that the *proſecution* of ſuch a good end, ſhould be put into the hands of ſuch *State Empericks*, who will goe about to cure a burnt Finger, by putting it into another Fire: who thinke to quench the flames of that Rebellion *there*, by blowing up a great Rebellion *here*. And let no man wonder, that I call this Rebellion a *greater*: For as the *Caſuiſts* uſe to ſay, That, when a man ſweares, *the greater* the ſubject-matter of his Oath is, the *leſſe* is the ſinne: So doe I ſay, That when a man Rebels, the *better* his Ground is, whether it be *Religion* or *Gods Glory*, the *worſe* is his Rebellion: becauſe he goes about to lay that for a *Foundation*, which will never incorporate with any part of the *Superſtructure* or *Building*. Nay, further then all this: If it ſhould pleaſe God to give theſe men the grace of true Repentance, ſo that they ſhould deteſt this unnaturall Rebellion *here*; and with unfeigned hearts ſhould ſet themſelves to the extirpation and rooting out of that Rebellion *there*; yet, in reaſon, were not the *proſecution of that Warre*, to be put into their hands, even then; becauſe, in the *Traverſes* of an uncertaine *Warre*, In thoſe ordinary *reciprocations* and *returnes* of *Fortune*; In thoſe *ebbings* and *flowings* of Succeſſe, which are not the *leſſe naturall* to great Enterprizes, becauſe, *leſſe certain*: There will fall out many particular emergent occaſions, both for *Action* and *Councell*, *quæ, non dum fiunt laudantur, ſed cum facta ſunt*, as the *Oratour* ſpeakes: The *Succeſſe* whereof, will much depend upon the *Secrecy*: and the greateſt commendation that can be given the *doing* of them, is, that they are already *done*. Which Councells can never runne ſo cleare thorow a *Sive*, as through a *Pipe*: where, *many* Heads have the conveighing thereof, as where, but *one*. And therefore it was not a piece of *Pride* but *Policy*, in that great Stateſ-man, who would uſually debate all his Deſignes of Warre amongſt his Councell; but then, would be ſure never to follow that Advice, which

generally

generally was accounted for the *beſt*: becauſe by long experience he had obſerv'd, that a *leſſe Expedient*, accompanied with *ſecrecy* and *ſilence*, operated more in the wayes of *Advantage*; then a *greater Expedient*, expos'd to common *obſervation* and *knowledge*. And then let all the World judge, whether it ſtand with ordinary *Prudence* and *Reaſon*, to commit the *proſecution of a Warre* to their Hands who doe now manage an Actuall Warre againſt their owne Prince, and are in open Rebellion againſt Him; which ordinary *Wiſdome* and *Diſcretion* would not entruſt them with (as being a *Multitude*) if they ſhould returne to their Subjection and Obedience.

IV. In the laſt place, obſerve their *inexorable obduration* and *deafneſſe* againſt all *enlargement*, *prorogation*, or *reviving* of the *Treaty*. For being importun'd by the Kings Commiſſioners for an *Addition* of *Time* (that ſo, as they might *give* fuller Anſwers to thoſe Propoſitions of the Parliament if there were occaſion; ſo they might hope to *receive* ſome kinde of Anſwer to thoſe Propoſitions of the King: of which ſome, received *no direct* Anſwer, and ſome, *no Anſwer at all.*) They kept them ſtill in ſuſpence, till the very *Twentieth Day*, that Day, when the Treatie was to breake up, before ever They would give them Anſwer: And then they tell them, *That their Lordſhips having not given full and ſatisfactory anſwers concerning* Religion, *the* Militia, *and* Ireland, *They cannot for thoſe reaſons expect an Addition of time:* (A man would thinke, they ſhould rather have given more time in hope of *Fuller Anſwers:* ſpecially having nothing elſe to doe, but to receive the Homage of our Commiſſioners, as if they had come rather to *keep a Court*, then to *ſpeed* a *Commiſſion.*) Neither *have they received any Inſtructions to continue this Treaty any longer then the Twenty Dayes, of which this is the laſt.* Oh! the torment of having an ill *Conſcience*, and hearing *Reaſon*! I dare ſay, never was any Cheater in the Pillory, gladder to ſee the *Iudges* come from *Weſtminſter*, then theſe ill men were to ſee the *Twentieth Day*, that was to redeem them from the cruelties of a convinced underſtanding! And yet, as your ordinary Players, when they cannot play that Comedy which was intended, becauſe ſome

Full Narration, p. 148. n°. CXCV.

of their principall men of parts are drunke: will lay the fault on the Spectators, and say, the *House* or *Galleries* are not full: So these *Actors* of a *Peace*; when they durst not continue the *Treaty* any longer, because of those Overtures that were made by our Commissioners concerning a *Cessation*, concerning the *Kings Returne to Westminster*, and concerning a present *disbanding of both Armies*, the very steame and ayre whereof, was able to turne the braines of this Rebellion, and to make it stagger; They tell our Commissioners, that it seemes *We had resolved that the Treaty should end with the Twenty Dayes*; the *meanes to continue it, being so well knowne to be, a good Progresse in the Propositions for* Religion, *the* Militia, *and* Ireland; *wherein they cannot find any satisfaction that was intended by Vs, to bee agreed unto.* But when (as any man would imagine) did they tell them this? Truly just, when the last instant of the *Twenty Dayes* was now expired; After Twelve a clock at night; when They were sure no *Answer* could be given, *as part of the Treaty*, without their Consent; As if the Rules of *Treating* were like those of *Scolding*, and the simple World must needs imagine, that because They had the *last Word*, They had the *best Cause*. I must professe ingenuously, when I met with this particular, and compar'd it with the *drolleries* of many of their other *Papers*, where meere *Fumes* are maintain'd like *Fortifications*, and so much *Reason*, as will hardly make a cracker, is mounted like some whole piece of *Canon*, that must sweep and carry all before it; I could not, on the sudden, satisfie my selfe, whether I were reading *Solids* or *Phancies*; whether I had met with a *Relation* or a *Romance*. I could never heare any thing of the *Presbytery*, but me thoughts, it sounded like the report of some *Enchanted Castle*, which every *Knight* is bound by his Adventure to *seeke*, but knowes not where to *find*: For their Commissioners urge and presse Our Commissioners, ever and anon *unto it*: and yet never so much as offer them any particular *Idea*, visible *Forme*, or *Representation* thereof, whereby they might be enabled to passe their Judgement and Opinion *of it*. I never could read their Papers concerning *Episcopacie*, but me thoughts, it lookt, like to some strange *Blacke-Knight*, that

Full Narration, p. 154. nº. CXCVII. 22. *Feb.*

that was much afflicted and oppreſſed, but *no body could know the Cauſe*: for I ſaw plainly, They were reſolv'd to ruine it, *though they had no Reaſon*. And then, let the world be never ſo diſadvantagious, the Weapons never ſo unequall, the Quarrell never ſo unjuſt, or the Deſigne never ſo impoſſible: I found that the *Knight* did ever *kill* the *Giant*, as in all *Romances*, He is wont to doe: For let the Propoſition be againſt *Law*, let it be againſt *Reaſon*; nay, let it be againſt *Religion*, all is one for that: and the *Parliament* is ſure to have the better of the *King*.

But did our Commiſſioners make no *good Progreſſe* in their three Propoſitions as theſe men pretend? Firſt, it is evident, *We* proceeded farther in *Their* Propoſitions, then *They* did in *Ours*; for, apprehending the buſineſſe of that Meeting in its true and proper notion, as being intended rather for a *triall of Iudgements*, then a *tickling of Humours*, Our Commiſſioners never returned Anſwer to their Papers, but ſuch as was elemented and made up of *Reaſon* and *Conſcience*, *Iuſtice* and *Prudence*, which of neceſſity muſt ſatisfie, either wiſe men or good; whereas They rather gave *Excuſes* then *Anſwers*, when they did give any; and ſometimes They would not give ſo much as that: which I think was ſo farre from being *Satisfactory*, that it was not *Civill*. And doe theſe men accuſe us of breaking up the Treaty by our *ill Progreſſe* in their Propoſitions; when We had Propoſitions, (which They were to *Treat* on as well according to the Tenour of their own *Commiſſion*,) wherein notwithſtanding They made not ſo much as *any kind of Progreſſe* at all? Secondly, We conceive, (and ſo We doubt not but the wiſer world will,) that the Commiſſioners on both ſides, were to be reckoned on as *Parties*, who were mutually to make up this *good Progreſſe* between them; by their complying and co-operating Hands; and not as *Iudges* for the *one* ſide to determine, whether that *were good* or no, which the *other* ſide had made; and therefore we think, there is no more reaſon on the one ſide, why our Progreſſe on their Propoſitions ſhould be reckoned and accounted *no good Progreſſe*, becauſe *They* ſay *it is not*; Then there is on the other ſide, why it ſhould not be reckoned and accounted a *good Progreſſe*, becauſe *We* ſay *it is*.

They

They find themselves a little pinch't with this; and therefore They produce a Reason against our *good Progresse*, which they doubt not, but will satisfie the World, (Then, truly must they serve the World, as they serv'd Us at *Vxbridge*: suffer it only to receive a *Paper*, and then, not suffer it to Returne an *Answer*; for otherwise, there is roome enough for a *Reply*.) And that reason, is this: that, *For Religion We granted them very little or nothing, but what already They were in possession of by the Lawes of this Kingdome.* Should this which they alleadge be true, certainly this were a strange Argument against us, to prove, that we made no *good Progresse* in their Propositions, because we *granted little or nothing, but what they were already in possession of by Law*; For, if the defence of their *Lawes*, was one of the chiefe Ingredients that made the *Warre*, (as out of doubt it was; and foure yeares agoe, what other Language did they speake? wherefore did they take up Armes, but for the *maintenance of Religion*, their *Liberties*, and their *Lawes?*) Assuredly, the bare Concession of the free use and benefit of those *Lawes*, is a signe of faire progression in the way to *Peace*. Hee that should have told the Souldier when hee first took up Armes, that he was to fight for the making of *New* Lawes, and not for the maintaining of the *Old*, would, I beleeve, have found but very cold *Musters*: But in few yeares, see, to what a *Contradiction of sinne* these Men are growne; At first, They took up their Armes to compell and force the King *to keepe the Lawes*; and now, They are resolv'd by like, never to lay them downe againe, if He will not *Break them*. It is one of the Kings *Propositions* offered to them, That *whatsoever hath been done contrary to the knowne Lawes of the Kingdome. should bee renounced and recalled*: and I dare presume, His Majesty would allow that for a *good Progresse* upon his Propositions, if the Parliament would but grant Him *that*; nay, He would aske no more; He would repose Himselfe in *that*, as the sole *Complement* of His Desires; and yet, that very thing which the King would be contented to rely and rest on, as upon *His End*; namely, That *nothing should be done contrary to the known establisht Law of this Land*; That, will not the Parliament accept of

Full Narration, p. 18 nº. VIII.

of in the condition of a *good progresse*, onely bending and leading thereunto. Truely, this *Allegation* of theirs, is so full of advantage, that I could almost wish it True: that is, I could wish our Commissioners had *not granted them*, so much as *very little*, but had granted them entirely *nothing at all*, but what they are in *possession of already by Law*; because I cannot well see, how they could grant it. But, what if all this which they alleadge be false? What if our Commissioners were so farre from granting them *very little*, but *what they were in possession of already by Law*, that they granted them *very much*? What if those particular Concessions, which *were never yet* established by Law, were *more* then those which *were*? Nay, what if it evidently be made appeare, that they never were by *Law of the Land* in possession of any of the least of those *Concessiõs*, which our Commissioners offered unto them? I am so charitable in conceiving these men may have some flesh in their Fore-heads, that I hope the *Scotch* Commissioners (who must be a little *excus'd* for *not* being *Acquainted* with our Lawes, unlesse they had rather be *accus'd* for their *Acquaintance*) had the penning of this Paper, that was the *Stopple* of the Treaty; because, although the words be *English*, yet the sence is *Scotch*; But out of all doubt, there is not greater evidence of Light, then of this Trueth; That of all those nine or ten *Concessions* which our Commissioners offered, upon the point of *Religion*, in the way of Reconciliation, and Advancement of a blessed Peace; There were none of them, but were the *Spawnes* of so many *New Lawes*: There was not one of them to which the Church, and Church-men were heretofore oblig'd, by any known established Law of the Kingdome, whatsoever. And now let all men judge of their *Faith* in *other* Testimonies, which cannot easily be reduc't to a convenient Teste: Who dare thus abuse the World with *Falshood* in *This*, which lyes so open and obnoxious to a plaine and ordinary Tryall.

Secondly, for the *Militia*, they say, We made no *good Progresse* therein, and therefore were *resolv'd*, it seemes, the *Treaty should break up*; Because We *thought it it not fit to consent to any one of their Demands*, *but made some new Propo-*

Full Narration, p. 155. nº. CXCVII.

 sitions

ſitions of our owne, which were not in any degree ſufficient for the ſetling and ſecuring of the peace of both the Kingdomes. I did ever thinkee, till now, that it was one thing to make a *Progreſſe*, and another to make an *End*: Doe they ſay, We made no *good progreſſe* in the *Militia*, becauſe Wee conſented not unto their *whole* Demands? They might altogether as properly ſay, that a Country-man travailing towards *London*, hath made no *good Progreſſe* in his Iourney; becauſe, He is not come as yet, to *Charing-Croſſe*. Queſtionleſſe a Progreſſe is made on their Demands, when We Conſent, but unto any part thereof; and the *better* that *part* is, that is conſented to, the *better* is the *Progreſſe*. Now, if *halfe* of any Thing be a good *part*, then is our Progreſſe upon their Demands, a *good Progreſſe*; for We conſented to the one *halfe* of every thing that was required. They demanded the nomination of *all* the Commiſſioners: and We granted them the Nomination of *halfe*; They demanded the *Militia* for *Seaven yeeres*: and We would have given them it, for *Three*. But I perceive hee grants them *nothing*, that does not grant them *all*; and it fares with the Parliaments *Demands*, as ſome report it does in the fortunate Ilands of *Arabia*, with the Peoples *Dayes*; They know not what belongs to *dawning*: They never ſee day till the *whole* Sunne appeares unto them.

Beſides, if Our Commiſſioners had made no better *Progreſſe*, then they pretend: if We had exhauſted all thoſe *Twenty dayes* aſſigned for the Treating upon Their Propoſitions in meere *Tergiverſation* and *Cavill*: if We had denyed Our *Aſſent* to all their Demands, and then had been never able to make good any colourable Reaſon for that Our *Deny-all*; yet certainly, Their Originall *Commiſſion* having a kind of *Counter part*, and they being authorized to Treat upon thoſe *Three Propoſitions* offered by *Vs* to *them*: as well, as upon theſe other *Three*, offered by *Them* to *Vs*: Reaſon and equity would, that an *equall* number of *Propoſitions*, ſhould have been allow'd an equall number of *Dayes*, and then, if the Succeſſes and Iſſues of both, had happily ſalne out equally unprofitable, yet, no one ſide could have had juſt cauſe for to complaine,

plaine, of the partiall and uneven proceedings of the other. And although We doe not urge it, as an argument of *Inſolence* and *Pride*, that Their Propoſitions muſt be Treated on, *in the firſt place*, before the Kings; yet, when the pretence, of Our *ill Progreſſe* upon *Theirs*, is made a Reaſon of their *no Progreſſe* at all on *Ours*: We cannot but look upon this *Order* and *diſpoſall* of the *partes*, as an Argument of great *Inconvenience*, againſt a *Peace*: and which hath ſomewhat of the viſage of an affected and Studyed *Obſtruction* caſt in the ways thereof. For thoſe *Three Propoſitions* of *theirs*, if they had beene denyed at *Vxbridge*; yet, they might have been granted at *Weſtminſter*, in a Full and Free Convention of Parliament; out of which I know not well, indeed, how They could be granted. But theſe *Three Propoſitions* of *Ours*, They cannot be granted at *Weſtminſter*, if they be denyed at *Vxbridge*: unleſſe you thinke it fit to perſwade *one* man to lay downe the Bucklers, whilſt *another* beats him. The Kings Propoſition for a preſent *Ceſſation* in *England*, could not be ſetled, but *in* a *Treatie*; The Parliaments Propoſition againſt the *Ceſſation* which was already paſt, in *Ireland*, might be ſetled, *out* of it; and yet, ſo inraged & incenſed are theſe men againſt the Ceſſation there; that they will not endure the mention of any thing that ſounds like it, *here*: as that impetuous *Emperour*, who, by witch-craft having learnt *three letters* of His name, that was afterwards to Succeed him; put every man to death whom he could lay hands on, that had thoſe *three letters*, for the beginning of his Name. His Majeſties *Returne to Weſtminſter* (which Our Commiſſioners deſired in the ſecond place) could not be *Safe*, but as both ſides agree, *before He commes*: But *Epiſcopacy* (which their Commiſſioners deſired to have aboliſht) could not be, but *unſafe*, even *after his comming*: for if there be juſt reaſon to take it away, *now*; there will be reaſon *then*. And yet, ſo tranſported are they, with a paſſionate and eager purſuit of a thing, in the perſwaſion whereof *both parties* profeſſe they *differ*: that they will not admit Diſcourſe, or *Treat* of another thing, wherein *both ſides* profeſſe before hand, that They doe *agree*. Both *Armies* cannot

be *Disbanded* (according to that Demand of Ours) but *before* the King and Parliament doe *meet*: but the Power of the *Militia*, may be setled (according to that Demand of Theirs) *after* that *Meeting*; and indeed, there is but little reason, that this Power of the *Militia* should now come in *projection* in these *Times of Warre*: which must lye *Dormant*, as Themselves confesse, and not be put in *Execution*, till the *Time of Peace*. And yet, so violent are these Men in setling of a *Power*, which *must not be exercis'd*, but in the Time of *Peace*; That they will heare of no course, that may be taken in the meane time, for *dissolving* of the *Warre*: like ordinary People in a Croude; that will make such haste, *every man* to get *first* out of dores, that *no man* stirres. So that, upon viewing of the whole matter, We can cast all these obstacles and Impediments in the wayes of *Peace*, that arose out of this perverse Method of handling the Propositions, into no other Mould, but this; That They, *never intending to conclude a Peace*, resolved in the first place to Treat of *Their* Propositions, which they knew no man with *Honesty* or *Conscience* could *Grant*; That in the second place, they might with better colour avoyd the Treating upon *Our* Propositions, which they knew, no man with *Conscience* or *Honesty*, could offer to *Deny*.

And, if all this which hath beene said, be not enough to perswade with men of common understanding, that these *Rebels* never did *intend a Peace*, but that they purpose to make this Warre, which at first was their *Necessity*, now, become their *Trade* (for too many of them know not how to live without it) yet this *One Consideration* is sufficient to enforce them to beleife, if they will but weigh it well, and that is this: That, They never would allow the *Tender* and *Offer* of all those things, for Overtures of *Peace*; the *Stoppe* and *Obstruction* whereof, they themselves, ever professed, till now, was the greatest *Incentive* and *Occasion* of the *Warre*.

They tooke up Armes, for the *Liberty of the Subject*; to vindicate and to recover *that*; and yet, in all this Treaty, they never let fall so much as any one *word* or *sillable*, tending or bending *thereunto*. They did well to set those words, [*The Liberty*

Liberty of the Subject] in their *Banners*, ſo as they did; For al the world cannot but ſee, that they meant it for a *Flouriſh*; For, when the Kings Commiſſioners urged and preſſed this point, of the *Liberty of the Subject* in many ſeverall particulars, and deſired, that *all illegall Power uſed over the Subject, as impriſoning, or putting him to death without Law; ſtopping of his* Habeas Corpus, *and impoſing upon his eſtate, without Act of Parliament* (the very grievances, which theſe men heretofore poſſeſt the World they labourd under, and therefore urg'd them to take up Arms, that ſo they might redreſſe them) *ſhould from henceforth be utterly diſclaimed*; They would never ſo much as admit of any Treaty thereof, or return any colourable Anſwer concerning it. Full Narration. p. 18. nº. VIII. Prop. 3.

They tooke up Armes for *Defence* of their *Religion*; And yet, in all the *Twenty daies* of this whole *Treaty*, were never able to produce any *one* Article of *Doctrine*, avowed and eſtabliſht in the Church of *England*, wherein that Church had receded either from the *Truth*, or from *Her ſelfe*; And for points of *Diſcipline*, when the King offer'd in His Propoſitions, all *eaſe* to *tender Conſciences in ſuch particulars as ſhould be agreed on by a Nationall Synod legally called*; They would never heare thereof; but, put off the *Treating* of that Propoſition, as they did the reſt, with this untivill Anſwer; That, *when the Houſes of Parliament ſhal be ſatisfied in the good progreſſe of the Treaty upon their Propoſitions, concerning* Religion, *the* Militia, *and* Ireland, *they will give time for the Treaty upon theſe Propoſitions ſent by His Majeſty*; In the point of which *Satisfaction*, they were reſolved beforehand, both to be *Parties* and *Judges*, as already hath appeared. Full Narration p. 141. nº. CLXXXIV.

They have raiſed ſeverall Armies, upon this very reaſon and ground, *To bring the King* (whom they pretended to be *ſeduced be Evill Councell*) *up unto the Parliament* (His *great*, and his *good* Councell, as the World muſt needs imagine) By meanes whereof, too much of Chriſtian Bloud hath beene already ſhed, and, as yet, ſhed in vaine; (for by *Force*, They never yet were able to *obtaine* it) And they doe now Refuſe His Majeſties *willing Offer of Returne*; or to *Treat* of any

Faire meanes of *Accommodation*, in purſuit thereof, the onely *viſible way* left under heaven, by which They may *effect* it. And if They ſhall goe about, after all this to Farce and fill the World with *Noyſe* and *Clamour*, that *They* would have had a *Peace*, but the *King* would *not*. (as it is like they will) For my part, I ſhall leave off further *Perſwaſion*, and fall to *Prayer*; humbly beſeeching *God*, who is the *Searcher of hearts*, and knowes *the Spirits* of all Men; To proſper on both Sides, thoſe *Iſſues* and *Succeſſes*, which They hope now to *have*, by *Warre*; according unto thoſe upright *Intentions*, and unfeigned *Purpoſes*, which They then had, of *Peace*.

FINIS.

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